Vol. 14, No. 21 May 28, 1963

It should be easy to understand why Southerners, many Southern Negroes as well as whites, become infuriated at Northerners. The Southerners know, rather better than most white Northerners—especially those who live in the well insulated white ghettos of the North—that "the race problem" burns at its fiercest not in Memphis and Charleston, or even Little Rock and Birmingham, but in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and Detroit, and that Northerners have not even begun to solve *their* peculiar problem. Most Southerners will agree with James Baldwin that if the racial problem can indeed ever be solved, the solution will have to arise first in the North. But the Northerners find it infinitely simpler to quiet their conscience and their fear by dispatching their writers, moralists, lawyers, magistrates and troops to Birmingham.

A number of Europeans saw some time ago the many similarities between Europe's external Negro problem in Africa and America's internal problem. The native leadership that took command of the African Negroes formulated a primary political goal which, whether justified or not, was clear, coherent and in at least a formal sense attainable: political self-government and independence. As American Negroes have in the past decade turned more actively toward various forms of mass struggle, legal and extra-legal, American leaders, white and Negro, have failed to supply them with a coherent and attainable goal.

What do the Negroes want? What is the nation prepared to give them? Justice? Yes, they should demand and the nation should most certainly grant, should have granted, justice. Justice means an equality of legal rights—of all legal rights, the rights of property and of voluntary association among them. Justice does not mean equality—which no one can grant, which cannot *be* among men. Nor, more plainly, does justice mean the freedom, for Negroes or whites, to flout the rules.

If the combined pressures of white and black racism end by transforming the American Negroes into a wholly alien community within the American nation, the race relation will become one purely of power: when there are two alien communities within a single nation, one, or an outside power, must prevail, and the other, or both, must submit. The Negro community would inevitably turn toward the goal of the African Negroes, already adopted by the Black Muslims: Negro secession in the literal sense, political independence in a Negro nation. Is that, then, what we—we Negro and we white Americans—want?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Must Secession be the Negroes' Goal? p. 1
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BULLETIN

THE WEEK

□ **THE TROUBLE WITH THE CONGO,** a United Nations official told a French journalist the other day, is that Moise Tshombe is the only real leader around. The UN controls Elisabethville and a handful of mining and transportation centers, but the rest of Katanga is still, by and large, Tshombe's fief. He is both a tribal and a political leader and now, in addition, the symbol of resistance to the hated United Nations troops whose brutalities will not soon be forgotten. In contrast, Cyrille Adoula, the Premier, who has no important political or tribal backing, has lost the support of both the Parliament and the police, and rules Léopoldville by virtue of U.S. dollars and UN arms; an honest and hardworking but ineffectual leader in a situation that calls for strength and decision.

□ **SPACE FLIGHTS WILL BE SO OLD HAT** some day that no one will be either thrilled or terrified as the countdown closes on zero, or the capsule noses down toward re-entry, and they will no doubt be piloted then by plain human beings like the rest of us instead of heroes. Not yet, Major Gordon Cooper.

□ **A SPRINKLING OF FACTS ABOUT HAITI:** UNESCO once spent $500,000 on a pilot project in Haiti to combat illiteracy, and managed to teach fifty people to read. . . . Col. Paul Magloire was the first president elected by popular vote (10/8/50). His Interior Minister reported he got 99% of the vote. . . . In the September 1957 election campaign, the opposition was allowed to hand out free rum—but not to broadcast on the radio, on the grounds

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that the people already knew where it stood anyway. . . . In May 1961, President Duvalier dissolved the bicameral legislature and ordered elections for a unicameral assembly. The people turned out to vote for the 58 members of the chamber and woke up the next morning to find that—according to Duvalier—they had re-elected Duvalier to a new six-year term. (The vote? 1,320,748 to 0.) Which is why May 15 was meant to be D (for danger) Day for Duvalier. It's the day on which his term of office expired.

■ **HOW BLOW THE POLITICAL WINDS?** South-southwest in the Republican Party just now, as Barry Goldwater noses out Messrs. Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton, Hatfield, Kuchel, Morton, yes, and Harold Stassen, as the man to worry about. Less than a month ago James Reston was writing that Nelson Rockefeller could no more lose the nomination than he could "go broke." Last week Reston admitted the nomination was "up for grabs." *Newsweek* asks in its cover story, current issue, "Goldwater in '64?" *U.S. News & World Report* has given a mathematical breakdown of Goldwater's chances not only of getting the nomination, but of beating John F. Kennedy. Suddenly it's accepted political doctrine that Goldwater will do better than any other Republican in the South, the Southwest and certain of the Midwest and mountain states. The nation's cartoonists, to a man, have discovered Barry Goldwater; he stares out at us from the editorial page, not only of the *Washington Post* which knew about him months ago, but of just about every newspaper in the country. The Liberal wing of the GOP is well aware of the danger from the Right: witness the frenetic push to build Romney into a suitable challenger.

■ **THE GOLD SEEPAGE CONTINUES,** with a loss of $50 million of gold in the first week of May, bringing the U.S. gold reserves to a new low (since 1939) of $15.8 billion. Net

ON THE LEFT

The Communist-sponsored Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties some months ago sent a "kit" of anti-McCarran Act (Internal Security Act of 1950) literature to fifty student leaders across the land, who were, in turn, to distribute it to "democratic youth" and whoop up an attack on the Act. Apparently the kit was the inspiration for a long letter in the student paper at Muhlenberg College (Pa.) headed: "NSA Contends McCarran Act Denies Fundamental Freedoms," citing the CCCL evidence. The letter was marked "Special . . . from NSA," but the national office of the National Student Association (see "At Home") disowned it upon inquiry by this office.

Frank C. Montero, who for thirty years has been associated with Negro hard-left causes, is scheduled to bump Mrs. Carmel Marr from her position as protocol chief at the UN, according to *Jet,* a Negro publication. "Protocol chief" has the function of screening petitioners to be heard at the UN, *i.e.,* facilitating visas for petitioners who have first to enter U.S. territory.

The Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, advertising in the *New York Times,* blamed a rise in the incidence of leukemia on radioactive fallout. (Dubious. Figures from the Acta Union Internationalis Contre Cancrum indicate a more or less steady rise since 1920.)

Just released by Marzani and Munsell, pro-Communist publishing house, *Un-Americana: A Tragico-Comical Memorabilia of HUAC, 1938-1963.* Collected and commented on by Charlotte Pomerantz (who as recently as 1960 supported publicly the Socialist Workers Party—a Trotskyite group cited by the Attorney General as subversive, and lately working in harmony with official CP). Foreword by Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton, "envoi" by James Baldwin. Puffs by Norman Thomas, A. MacLeish among others. Publisher of volume, Carl Marzani, once went to jail for lying about membership in CP.

Sons of Erin: caution is advisable in dealing with the new American Committee For The Release of The Irish Prisoners. No perfectly reliable evidence against this committee has as yet been developed, but its sponsors apparently have long records of left-agitation in Great Britain (not here). The speculation is that the committee may be designed to exploit Irish-American anti-British feelings, as a move against NATO.

". . . The way to political power in the United States has been characterized by the crudest persecution of dissident opinion. The object of this persecution has been to impose upon the United States an acceptance of capitalism and of the power of large industry. To further this end, any potential critics of such a power arrangement have been hunted down and declared subversive." So says Lord Bertrand Russell in an article appearing recently in *Frontier,* a Liberal pacifist monthly, and in *The Minority of One,* a slick, sick-left monthly. *Frontier* carried this prettified version of one Russell sentiment: "The government has never convincingly refuted Hiss's claim that the F.B.I. constructed a typewriter to secure a false conviction." *TMO* correctly reproduced the original: ". . . and the F.B.I. constructed a typewriter to secure a false conviction."

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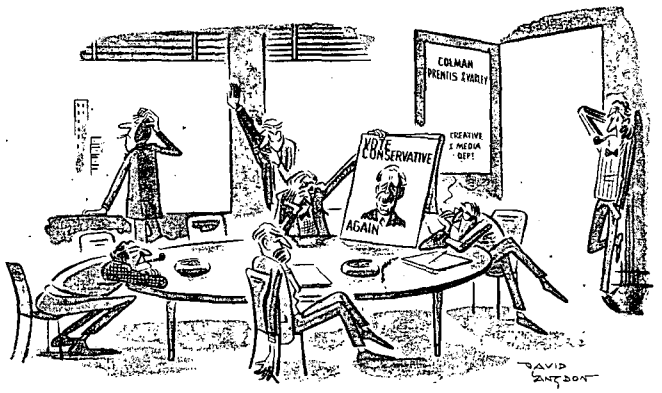
foreign short-term claims exceed this sum by about $4 billion. So far this year the U.S. has lost $150 million in gold, about one-third of the year-ago figure, even though the payments deficit this year has more than doubled so far, from $331 million to $700 million. That's an indication of the degree to which the U.S. must now rely upon foreign bankers for the deferral of a dollar crisis.



Punch

■ **CHAOS OR BONANZA?** is the question as New Hampshire plans its lottery—the first state-run lottery in this country since Federalist days. Opposition came mainly from those who consider gambling evil, but some shrewd critics believe the state has blundered for other reasons. They point to the high promotional and distribution cost of lotteries. They also believe that insufficient study was made of the administrative difficulties, the legal consequences of sales to non-residents and the ease with which gamblers, gangsters and counterfeiters can move in.

■ **A CHUMMY ATMOSPHERE PREVAILED** as Canada's Lester Pearson spent the weekend at Hyannis Port. The era of the spat over the back fence is over, and we can brace for a spate of editorials about "our friendly giant to the north." Skeptics had suggested that Pearson never intended nuclear arms as weapons against any other enemy than John Diefenbaker, but the joint communiqué at the close of the Cape Cod visit affirmed Canada's willingness to stand by her commitments: her NATO and NORAD units will soon have nuclear warheads.

■ **STOP THE MOON, WE WANT TO GET OFF**—that's what a number of scientific authorities are saying about the gung-ho U.S. push to get a man on the moon. Responsible publications such as *Science,* the *New Scientist,* and *Barron's;* scientists such as Vannevar Bush and, according to one source, "scores" of others; and some military men have spoken against the project. Such non-partisan voices, in touch with military and scientific factors not available to the mass of voters, command attention. But the GOP's attempt to turn the criticisms into a partisan attack on the Administration may backfire, as the President suggested at his press conference. If the critics knock down our moon shot, and then Moscow gets there first, what will the headlines be saying?

PEOPLE

Sec. of Interior **Stuart Udall** saying thanks but no thanks to suggestions he run against **Barry Goldwater** in Arizona senatorial contest next year. Udall telling associates Goldwater *can't be beaten in Arizona; that he'd make* strongest national race against **Kennedy**. . . . Anti-Goldwater drive being spearheaded by Liberal Republican *Advance* which is holding $100-a-plate fund raising dinner next week. Tipoff to *Advance's* complexion: speakers at dinner will be Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** (Cal.), Rep. **John Lindsay** (N.Y.). . . . Lindsay, incidentally, far from displeased at revelations tying in N.Y. Attorney General **Louis Lefkowitz** with liquor scandals. If Lefkowitz is forced out, Lindsay might get the interim appointment from **Rocky**. . . . **George Romney's** far-from-graceful pirouettes to avoid having his picture taken with Barry Goldwater at Goldwater testimonial dinner in Washington a week ago angered party regulars of all wings; they see it as part and parcel of Romney's refusal to act as good party man, play it the organization way. . . . No one, but no one taking very seriously **Harold Stassen's** announcement that he will enter New Hampshire Presidential primary. (Even with Rocky on the rocks, things aren't *that* bad.)

Less than a week after U.S. made special $17-million emergency grant to help get Indonesia's staggering industrial machine going (it's short of spare parts, raw materials), **Sukarno** turned around and bought three jet airliners for his personal tours (cost $19 million). . . . **E. J. Bonay,** newly appointed governor of West Irian (the late Dutch New Guinea) celebrated his arrival in Kotabaru (the late Hollandia) by bitterly attacking the United Nations' "feudalistic behavior in West Irian." . . . **Bertrand Russell** now urging Britons to do everything in their power to disrupt the nation's secret services as part of nuclear disarmament campaign. . . . The latest Gallup poll in England indicates three out of five voters (of all parties) believe **Harold Macmillan** should retire as Prime Minister.

William Knowland, moving back into the political arena, urges July 1 time limit for removal of Soviet troops and Soviet equipment from Cuba. If this is not done, says Knowland, the nations of the Western Hemisphere should establish a joint air and sea blockade of Cuba, suspend diplomatic relations with Russia, invade Cuba with a "Freedom Volunteer Corps." . . . Sec. of State **Rusk** appalled at congressional proposals to set up a permanent "Captive Nations" committee. In letter to Chairman **Howard Smith** of House Rules Committee, Rusk pointed out that such a resolution would be a "source of contention" to the USSR.

Running the rounds in broadcasting circles: resignation of FCC TV czar **Newton Minow** is biggest step Mr. Pure could take to clean up the "wasteland."

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At Home

The temper of American campuses becomes increasingly conservative. Witness the hard times which have descended upon the National Student Association—a youth group of Liberal persuasion which has for years held sway unchallenged at America's larger colleges and universities.

NSA was founded in 1947 as a consortium of student governments, allegedly to deal with the common technical problems of academic life—student services, fees, parking lots, and the like. Its constitution explicitly prohibits lobbying, political agitation, and all other activity "which does not affect students in their role as students."

Despite these pieties, NSA has from the beginning involved itself deeply in matters of politics—invariably on the Liberal side. In the name of "the American student" it has tossed off wordy communiqués on subjects of small relevance, if any, to its stated purposes. Among NSA pronouncements have been a demand for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a consistent clamor for federal aid to education, opposition to nuclear testing, attacks on the "colonialism" of various allies of the United States, and a declaration of solicitude for the Japanese students (led by Communists) who rioted against President Eisenhower in 1960.

These propaganda sallies, many of them the work of the NSA National Executive Committee of less than three dozen people, have been trumpeted to the world as though they were the opinion of *all* American students. Some collegians have therefore come to resent NSA, and have set to work to do something about it. A resistance movement has developed, and after years of seemingly fruitless effort has suddenly begun to make impressive headway.

In the forefront of student opposition to NSA has been the conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom. Working in harness with Young Republican leaders and various moderate and Liberal students who dislike the procedural side of NSA's operations, the conservatives have followed two avenues of attack. The first has been to press for reforms from within, to make proceedings at the annual NSA congresses both more equitable and more accurate in registering delegate opinion. This effort has realized certain successes, but most of the reformers now acknowledge that the fundamental defects of the NSA structure cannot be corrected by remodeling the roof. Conservative prospects of changing NSA from within are about as good as those of renovating Americans for Democratic Action; the group has been Liberal from the beginning, and its ranking personnel are overwhelmingly of the same persuasion. The corporate momentum of 16 years cannot be reversed by tinkering with the machinery which records the end result.

Thus NSA critics have turned increasingly to the second approach, that of challenging the group at the source of its apparent authority, the campus itself. They have carried the issue to the student population of various member colleges, saying: *This is the nature of the organization which claims to represent you and your opinions—does it in fact represent you?* And, in growing volume, the colleges have sent back a resounding no.

Part of the story is told in a recent YAF publication called "NSA Report," an excellent survey of the Liberal youth group's claims, its actual operation, and its recent difficulties. Since 1961, the pamphlet notes, no less than 33 schools, including some of the largest in the nation, have withdrawn from NSA. Most recent of these dissidents is Indiana University, which some weeks ago disaffiliated by a vote of 4,071 to 2,525—in large part, according to Tom Huston, Indiana YAF chairman and a leading critic of NSA, because of the Liberal group's unwarranted forays into deep left field. Ohio State, Texas, Vanderbilt, Northwestern, Oklahoma, Bennington, Utah State, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Randolph Macon and numerous others have withdrawn. Fourteen colleges have turned down suggested affiliations, including Texas Christian, Purdue, Washington and Lee, Fordham, Virginia, Tufts, and the University of Kentucky.

The movement away from NSA is, in short, beginning to resemble a mass exodus. As the YAF study observes, "Surely the rejection of NSA by student governments representing more than 230,000 students is proof that all is not well within [NSA] . . . The 378 schools still remaining in NSA make up only 20% of the 2,011 institutions of higher learning in the United States eligible for membership. [Yet] NSA uses the force of sheer numbers (claiming to represent 'over one million American students' in its latest brochure) to support its contention that it is truly 'representative.'" The force of the numbers now departing from NSA, it is reasonable to expect, will go a long way toward establishing the opposite conclusion.

Beyond providing an up-to-date summary of NSA's recent fortunes, the YAF booklet includes a concise discussion of the group's internal mechanics, finances, tax-exempt status (obtained despite the group's obvious involvement in political activity), extreme Liberal bias, and non-representative character. YAF points out that even in those schools which still retain NSA memberships it is highly questionable whether the students, many of whom have only a dim conception of what is going on, are in fact "represented" in any significant sense. In most cases, NSA affiliations are handled by a relatively small group of student leaders, and are premised on grounds having nothing to do with political opinion.

For those who would like to know more about the NSA battle, this YAF document is highly recommended. It is available at $1 per copy from Young Americans for Freedom, 514 C St. N.E., Washington 2, D.C.

M. Stanton Evans

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PARIS — **Justice Stymied**

The defense attorneys in the trial of Antoine Argoud, Secret Army leader kidnaped in Munich by French *barbouzes* (strong-arm secret agents) have brought proceedings to a halt. They stated to the court that "juridically" Argoud exists in Munich, and that they and their client therefore refuse to plead or to take any part whatever in a trial taking place in France. The judges, apparently believing that the attorneys have at least a prima facie case,

Abroad

were caught like true Frenchmen in the logical paradox, and suspended the trial indefinitely in order to straighten out their syllogisms.

PRETORIA — **Violent Horizon**

In spite of the elaborate legal jockeying that still goes on, all sides realize that the struggle in South Africa has broken through the barriers of constitutional forms into the arena where force clashes openly with counter-force. The Pan-Africanist Congress, the Poqo organization and *Umkonto We Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation"), all outlawed, not merely accept public responsibility for the increasingly frequent acts of arson, bombing and assassination, but compete with each other in claiming authorship. The "granite" policy with which the government is replying will now deploy the police, army and militia under guidance of a new security law that suspends all normal constitutional procedures and permits administrative arrest and detention of virtually anyone named, even by a minor police official, as dangerous to the state. The breakup of the Rhodesian Federation, the drive against Portuguese Africa, and the UN intervention in Southwest Africa add to the stresses on South Africa by removing buffers to the revolutionary impulses bearing down from the north.

RIO DE JANEIRO — **The Lobster War**

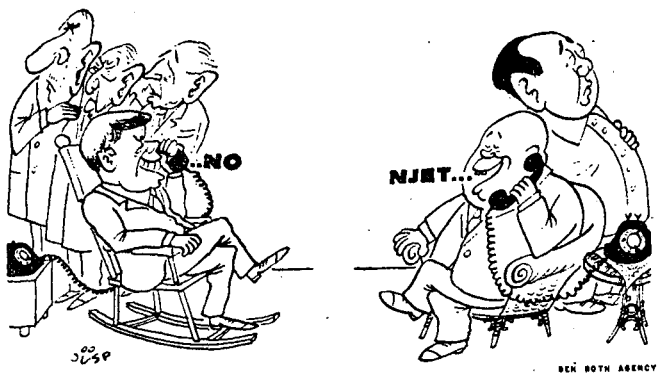
A couple of months ago France and Brazil almost came to blows over France fishing for what Brazil considered strictly *carioca* lobsters. According to the nationalized French TV, the lobster crisis was an anti-French move instigated by American interests that control Brazilian processing plants. These interests, said the French TV, stirred up the controversy because they feared the competition of the French fishing vessels in Brazilian waters would force them to pay more to their Brazilian suppliers. For some time, France has been making overtures on both cultural and economic levels toward Latin America, with an anti-Yankee overtone. In an address to twenty Latin American ambassadors two years ago (Feb. 1961) Pres. de Gaulle called for a "united and renovated Latin world," and emphasized that between "Latin America and France there exists no sort of suspicion, not the slightest ulterior motive as to intentions or ambitions." French theatrical groups, writers and artists are touring Latin America regularly these days and South American students are welcomed by the hundreds in French universities. A visit by de Gaulle to Latin America sometime this year, following up André Malraux' 1962 trip, is a lively possibility.

PEIPING — **Dragon's Path**

The Chinese Communist press is enthusiastic about the results of the just completed tour of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, to Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and North Vietnam. Liu and Sukarno embraced literally and politically at a wide-ranging round of parades, banquets and mass meetings. Liu stressed opposition to the "neo-colonialist" plot to create a greater Malaysia, and support of "the revolutionary struggle" of the people of north Borneo; Sukarno reciprocated with optimistic words on the Sino-Indian dispute. Liu's days in Burma were a euphoric succession of picnics, ball playing and venison roasts, with mutual congratulations on booming Sino-Burmese relations.

NEW DELHI — **Living in Glass Houses**

What New York's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts seems to lack—*i. e.*, proper acoustics—is what the new $700,000 U. S. Embassy in New Delhi has too much of. British publisher Hamish Hamilton, who spent some time as a guest in the perforated-wall palace which architect Edward Stone designed, reports that Stone has managed to produce an echo that travels from one end of the Embassy to the other. The downstairs powder room was the only place Ambassador John Galbraith found in which to hold secret diplomatic conversations without being overheard, and



Jüsp *Wir Brückenbauer*

The Direct "No" Line

he was finally compelled to move his office there. Hamilton says when he talked to the housekeeper in anything above a whisper some one would leap out into the hall and roar for silence. During her stay at the Embassy, British economist Barbara Ward is reported to have kept fit by climbing the walls (the lattice work made it easy) while Ambassador Averell Harriman (who doesn't like cats) got in his daily dozen trying to dodge Galbraith's Siamese in Architect Stone's Wondrous (but partitionless) Pleasure Dome.

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BUSINESS

THE CURRENT EXPANSION CYCLE, as the economists call it, or boom as we lesser humans refer to it, is anywhere from 24 to 27 months old, depending on which charts you use for guidelines. That doesn't make it newsworthy. What does is the fact that it is intensifying. All the relevant statistics agree that the economy is heading upwards and even the dubious economists are forced to go along.

A notable feature of the American economy, perceptible since the end of World War II, is that optimism spreads just as rapidly on the upside of a boom as pessimism spreads on the downside of gloom. This has not always been true, and the fact that so many Americans—17 million of them—are owners of shares of corporations may have something to do with it.

Whatever its etiology, optimism is as contagious as measles in kindergarten and no sooner were the latest rash of cheerful figures published during the last fortnight than the stock market began to react with daily spurts of vigor that finally sent the prices and the averages to bell-ringing, record-setting highs.

The public was back in the stock market in force, acting and reacting en masse for the first time since the New York newspaper strike. But there was no doubt, either, that the professionals on Wall Street were still calling the plays. The market surged ahead, but the advance was orderly.

Perhaps the public was brought back into the market by General Motors' 50-cent special dividend. It was said to be just what had been ordered for the hardheads and skeptics. Nothing is of deeper hue than the blue of General Motors' blue chip standing, and the attention accorded America's richest publicly-held corporation cast spotlight reflections on the other blue chips.

For reasons which have never been made clear, the professionals and official chroniclers of the Street have refused to acknowledge the advent of a bull market. It's no longer a bear market, they have admitted during the last eight weeks, but just a "good" market.

There was no mistaking it last week, though. The bears have been sent off to an unseasonable hibernation, scurrying before an avalanche of buy orders and new money fresh from the savings accounts.

BEHIND IT ALL WAS THE EXPANSION FEVER of American industry, the renewed willingness to invest increasing portions of risk capital into new plant and equipment and blueprinted ventures. Outlays for new plant and equipment will be higher by 10% than had been estimated at the year's outset.

Businessmen, like investors, apparently have forgotten that President Kennedy predicted a recession for 1963 unless Congress did three things: (1) adopt the record-breaking budget; (2) vote an immediate cut in taxes and (3) reform and revise the crazy-quilted, over-patched tax code.

While Dr. Walter W. Heller, President Kennedy's chief economist, was warning the members of the powerful Business Council that unemployment would continue to plague the nation unless the tax reduction plan were voted, the members were still mulling over a highly optimistic report that had been given them earlier by Campbell Soup president W. B. Murphy, chairman of the Council's committee on the domestic economy.

Murphy's committee predicted that the gross national product will climb to a new record high of $585 billion for the year and will reach a $595 billion rate in the last quarter of 1963.

It confirmed what most of the business leaders had realized by judging their own operations, namely that private investment was picking up and would probably maintain a rising pace well into 1964. They know also that consumer spending is strong and getting stronger, and that government spending, particularly at the state and local levels, is picking up. That's the kind of activity which, when coupled with a related pickup in private investment, causes a boom.

It was achieved without the tax cuts which, primarily aimed at the lowest income brackets, were designed to stimulate consumer spending.

It appears the artificial stimulation wasn't necessary.

& Briefs

Wall Street's investment bankers and brokers are watching, with tax experts, a mounting rebellion among voters and taxpayers. They have been doing so since last fall, but the matter gained public attention last week when 21 communities in suburban New York voted down their school budgets. In last fall's general elections several school bond issues were defeated. The fact that so many incumbent governors lost their elections last fall also surprised the experts who, upon analysis, found it was because the governors had all proposed greatly increased state budgets coupled with higher taxes.

Investors are beginning to reappraise the oil company securities in the wake of improved marketing conditions and Congress' apparent reluctance to heed the Administration's urgings for "revision" of the tax structures involving the oil depletion allowance. Oil explorers say the allowance is necessary to offset the costly risks involved in drilling.

Bellwether of the nation's economy is no longer steel, it's the automobile industry, and a record 169,586 cars were sold last week, the best week of the year.

Volkswagen, most popular foreign car in America, will probably not seek full trading privileges for its stock in this country. To do so it would have to observe U.S. law requiring fuller disclosure of corporate financial info than European law requires.

DONALD I. ROGERS

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